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THE BOOK OF ENOCH IN REFERENCE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY.

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THE "book of Enoch," which has lately drawn to its elucidation a large mass of erudition, may be described as the remnant and ruin of a wide range of apocalyptic and hieroscopic literature. It radiated its influence, although unequally, in the three successive spheres of Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan thought. It runs in a third outer-marginal circle outside the canonical and deuterocanonical writings of the Septuagint Old Testament, and sweeps its winding curve through all the deepest questions which have agitated humanity, from the origin of sin in the world to the final consummation of all things. While exercising a strongly fascinating power to captivate the imagination, it lacked any authority to bind belief and insure acceptance. There are occasional traces of its influence in the talmudical writings, but no evidence exists of any Jewish proposal having ever been made to canonize it. The plasticity of its literary character followed at once from this union of the lack of authority with the predominance of the imaginative. It seems to have been open to almost any amount of free handling in the way of alteration, interpretation, etc. Its reference to definite facts of Old Testament history is scanty; but one portion of it dresses up the whole, from the deluge to the captivity and the return, in a rather vapid allegory. The larger bulk, however, is, like the apocryphal gospels, occupied most diffusely with those subjects on which Holy Scripture is most reserved, viz., angels, demons, various projections of the Messianic reign in different eschatological combinations, subterranean geography, and celestial physics. The machinery of Mohammed's visions seems founded

upon it ; several points of Dante's *Inferno* have contact with it, and the austere muse of Milton has not wholly escaped its fascination, although perhaps indirectly exercised.

From what has just been said it will be inferred that the Enochic literature has suffered loss as well as accretion. Several noteworthy statements made by those Christian authors who seem to quote it are not found in any existing text. Thus, that the government of the lower world was committed by God to certain angels is a statement of Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, ii, 5) and of Athenagoras (*Legatio*, 24 f.), to which the latter adds a remark that these angels enjoyed freedom of will and thus were *αὐθαίπεροι* as regards the sin they incurred.

Similarly Tertullian, who threw his great influence in the African church in favor of ranking the book as Holy Scripture, uses the phrase, "angelis sua sponte corruptis" (*Apol.*, 22). Other passages in which Tertullian seems to quote it might be cited from the *De Habitu Virginum* and the *De Cultu Fem.*, in which his details so far differ from any existing text as to show either that in what he cites he had a different text before him, or that portions of what he cites have since been lost.

It would be tedious to introduce here the numerous passages which the erudite industry of Mr. Charles, the latest translator, and of others, has accumulated from the book of Jubilees, and other Jewish and Christian authorities, in illustration of such differences and omissions ; but the conclusions pointed at are that the book, having no place in the canon, had no standard text ; but that, being very popular, it was tampered with to suit popular caprice without scruple ; also that the original Hebrew was, for the latter reason, more than once translated into Greek by various hands ; and, lastly, that the redactor of the final Greek text, the source of the Ethiopic version, sometimes combined one or more of these. If there were more than one Ethiopic version, this would open further chances of variants and perhaps of combined renderings. Thus all power of criticising the original Hebrew, and all the light to be gathered from style upon questions of authorship, are lost. And therefore we may sprinkle some grains of salt upon Mr. Charles' opinion, that the

present book consists of six different pieces by as many authors. He is led so to think by the inconsistencies of view, chiefly on eschatological questions, which he finds among the six. But these mental fluctuations, in the author of a work purely imaginary, are not beyond what one may allow as probable. Taking, however, the book as he presents it to us, its greatest interest for Christian readers lies in the anticipations in some of its views of Christian ideas (just as Ecclus. 28 : 1-5 contains an anticipation of a clause of the Lord's Prayer, and of our Lord's comment upon it in Mark 11 : 25, 26); while in many more passages it anticipates New Testament language. We will notice, therefore, the more conspicuous of these. Many keynote words and signal phrases will be found among the number. We will take those from the gospels first, giving in the case of these the references to their Enochian parallels :

MATTHEW.

5 : 22, 29, 30 ; 10 : 28, where Gehenna is the place of final punishment.

19 : 28, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory (*cf.* 25 : 31), ye also shall sit on twelve thrones.

25 : 41, prepared for the devil and his angels.

26 : 24, it had been good for that man if he had not been born.

LUKE.

1 : 52, He hath put down the mighty from their seats.

16 : 8, the children of light.

16 : 9, the mammon of unrighteousness.

18 : 7, shall not God avenge his own elect, and he is long-suffering over them.

ENOCH.

27 : 2 ; 90 : 26, 27, where Gehenna is similarly mentioned and first definitely so appears.

62 : 3, 5, kings and princes . . . terrified when they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory ; 108 : 12, I will seat each on the throne of his honor.

104 : 5, chains prepared for the hosts of Azazel.

38 : 2, it had been good for them if they had not been born.

46 : 5, will put down kings from their thrones.

16 : 11, the generation of light.

63 : 10, the mammon of unrighteousness.

47 : 1-2, a prayer of the righteous . . . that judgment may be executed . . . that He be no more long-suffering over them.

LUKE.

21 : 26, your redemption draweth nigh.

23 : 35, the Christ of God the elect one.

JOHN.

5 : 22, He hath committed all judgment to the Son.

14 : 2, many mansions.

ACTS.

3 : 14, the righteous one ; *cf.* 7 : 52 ; 22 : 14.

4 : 12, none other name . . . where-by ye must be saved.

10 : 4, prayers gone up for a memorial before God.

17 : 31, will judge the world . . . by that man whom he hath ordained.

ENOCH.

51 : 2, the day of their redemption hath drawn nigh.

40 : 5, the elect one.

69 : 27, the sum of judgment was committed to Him (*i. e.*, the Son of Man).39 : 4, mansions of the righteous; *cf.* vs. 7; 48 : 1, etc.

38 : 2, the righteous one (applied to the Messiah).

48 : 7, saved in His (Messiah's) name.

99 : 3, raise your prayers as a memorial before the Most High.

40 : 9, will appoint a judge for them all . . . judge them all before him.

The Pauline epistles contain twenty passages which have parallels in "Enoch." Among these are found the well-known phrases, "who is blessed forever" (2 Cor. 11 : 31), "angels, principalities, and powers" (Eph. 1 : 21; Col. 1 : 16), "every knee should bow" (Phil. 2 : 10), "sons (or children) of light" (1 Thess. 5 : 5; Eph. 5 : 8), "angels of His power" (A. V., "His mighty angels") (2 Thess. 4 : 7), "worthy of all acceptance" (1 Tim. 1 : 15; 4 : 9). Especially remarkable, also, is one of five such in the epistle to the Hebrews, viz., Heb. 4 : 13 "neither is there any creature . . . not manifest in His sight : but all . . . naked and opened unto the eyes of Him."¹ That of Jude, in which there is (vss. 14, 15) a direct quotation from "Enoch" as "prophesying" of judgment, contains also, vs. 4, "denying our only Master and Lord;" *cf.* Enoch 48 : 10, "denied the Lord of Spirits and his anointed;" vs. 6, "the

¹For which the Greek of "Enoch" is πάντα ἐνώπιον σου φανερά καὶ ἀκάλυπτα, καὶ πάντα ὁρᾷς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ κρυβήναι σε δύναται.

angels which kept not," etc.; *cf.* Enoch 10 : 5, 6, 12, 13; vs. 13, "wandering stars;" *cf.* Enoch 48 : 5; vs. 14, "the seventh from Adam;" *cf.* Enoch 60 : 8 for the same phrase. The remarkable passage, 1 Peter 3 : 19, 20, relating to "the spirits in prison," and "the long-suffering of God . . . in the days of Noe," etc., closely reflects Enoch 10 : 4, 5, 12, 13. With 4 : 7, of "judgment" to "begin at the house of God," *cf.* Enoch 1 : 7 of "judgment . . . over all the righteous." The remarkable word *ταρταρώσας* (2 Peter 2 : 4), founded directly, perhaps, on the classic tartarus of the titans' penal doom, illustrates Enoch 10 : 4-6, 12, 13. The "new heavens and new earth" of 2 Peter 3 : 13 is a phrase embodied or reflected in Enoch 45 : 4, 5; 72 : 1; 91 : 16. In the Johannine epistles we find "the darkness is past," 1 John 2 : 8, reproducing *verbatim* a phrase of Enoch 58 : 5, and "we shall be like him," *ibid.* 3 : 2, one from Enoch 90 : 37, 38; also, "walk in the light," *ibid.* 1 : 7, appears Enoch 92 : 4, ". . . will walk in eternal light." Further, the contrast of "light" and "darkness," which is quite a commonplace with John, appears repeatedly in Enoch; see especially 38 : 4, and Charles' note. James offers only "the double-minded man" of 1 : 2, for which compare "a double heart," Enoch 91 : 4; and his denunciation of "woes" against "rich men," 5 : 1-6, paralleled closely in Enoch 94 : 8-11, and more or less so in eleven other "Enoch" passages.

But, owing to a sympathy of the argument itself, the Apocalypse offers a large array of coincident or approximate phrases with the book of Enoch. It seems, indeed, as if its author had been saturated with the Jewish apocalyptic literature of which Enoch is the prototype. And this indirectly strengthens the argument for the "John" who wrote it being the same with the author of the Johannine epistles, who, in proportion to his space, furnishes large evidence of the same influence, as shown above. The following examples from the Apocalypse will be familiar to all who have even a superficial acquaintance with it: Rev. 2 : 7; 22 : 2, 14, 19, "to eat of the tree of life;" 3 : 5, "clothed in white raiment;" 10, "them that dwell on the earth;" 12, "the new Jerusalem;" *cf.* 21 : 2-10; 4 : 6, 5 : 6, 11, "round about the

throne four living creatures" (in Enoch "four presences"); 6:10, "how long holy and true dost Thou not avenge our blood;" 6:15, 16, describing the terror of the kings of the earth in the presence of Him on the throne; 7:17, "shall guide them to fountains of waters of life;" 9:1, "I saw a star fall from heaven;" 20, "that they should not worship demons idols of gold," etc.; 14:9, 10, describing the torment of the worshipers of the beast; 20, "blood came out unto the horses' bridles" (in Enoch "up to the breast"); 20:12, "books opened another which is the book of life;" 13, "sea gave up dead death and hades gave up dead in them;" 15, "cast into the lake of fire." Some of these appear in Enoch *verbatim* in the Greek, others merely with the deviations natural to two translations of the same original.

Angelology and demonology form chief themes in this remarkable book, the former having copious, the latter slender, connection with the Old Testament. Indeed, the point of departure for the whole book may be said to be the fall of the angels; who had first volunteered for the duty of "watchers" over the human race and this lower world, and, in order to discharge that duty, had become incarnate; then, through the flesh thus assumed, had become ensnared in its lusts, according to one interpretation of Gen. 6:2, had taught their human wives all the beginnings of deceitful, meretricious, magical, etc., arts; and were then denounced by the superior angels, Michael, etc., to the Almighty as having betrayed their trust. This legend has a point of curious agreement with the expression in Jude 6, "kept not their first estate," A. V., where the Greek *ἀρχὴν* might easily stand for "office" or "function" of "watchers." Here the idea is different from that of the fallen angels, who, in their incorporeal essence, fell through pride. Of these apostate "watchers," who fell through lust, the chief is named Azael, Azazel, or Azazel. He is denounced as such in Enoch 9:6, and part of his indictment in 10:8 is, "all the whole earth has been defiled through the teaching of the works of Azazel: to him ascribe all the sin." And the name, sometimes taken as a

synonym of "Satan," occurs singularly in Lev. 16:8, 10, 26, where "the lot" of the "scapegoat" is given (see A. V., Mar.) "for Azazel." The two lots of the two goats seem to express the double issue of "life and death, blessing and cursing," set before Israel in Deut. 30:19; which again is symbolized in the two monumental mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, laden with the blessings and curses of the law (40:26-29). The learned editor, Mr. Charles, notes that in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, "the scapegoat is said to have been sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, *i. e.*, Beth-Chaduda"—a locality three (*aliter* twelve) miles from Jerusalem, with which he compares Enoch 10:4, where the angel Raphael is bidden, *δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαήλ χειρὶ καὶ ποσὶ . . . καὶ ἄνοιξον τὴν ἔρημον τὴν Δυδαήλ, καὶ ἐκεῖ πορευθεὶς βάλε αὐτόν*; adding, "it is thus a definite locality in the neighborhood of Jerusalem." Here, perhaps, we have the prototype of the binding of Satan by the angel who has the key of the abyss, and who casts him in there (Rev. 20:1-3). The expression of the parable (Matt. 22:13), "Bind him hand and foot, and take him away and cast him," etc., may also be noted as a parallel of language.

We have seen that with Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tertullian the book of Enoch obtained recognition, with the last named as inspired. Clement of Alexandria and the author of the (Gnostic, third century) *Πίστις Σοφία* also quote from it, although what they quote is not now found in any existing text. The pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* contain, the one a lengthy, the other a shorter passage, each a summary apparently of many or several in "Enoch," but without referring to that patriarch as their source. Irenæus has several passages which contain statements apparently from "Enoch," but equally without acknowledgment. The testimony of Origen is decisive as to the currency of the book among Christians, and in his earlier writings he speaks of it as "Scripture," as also does the (Alexandrian?) author of the epistle of Barnabas; but his maturer judgment is to the effect that the churches did not accept it as inspired. He speaks of the "books of Enoch" (*βιβλία*), as though more than one were known. The bent of Origen's

studies toward perfecting the canonical books of Scripture gives to this gradual progress of his judgment a peculiar weight. It suggests that, while the church's canon itself fluctuated, the estimate of "Enoch" similarly fluctuated, and that, as that canon became ascertained and definite, the rejection of "Enoch" was similarly pronounced. Only in the remote Abyssinian church do we find that it ever established its claim to the canon, and stands in the Ethiopic Bible among the hagiographa, next to Job.

Traces of the book's currency occur in the acts of Perpetua, and in Minucius Felix, the former certainly and the latter probably African. Indeed, there is much reason to suspect that the former "acts" were placed in their present setting by Tertullian himself, who, as we have seen, was an eager champion for the inspiration of "Enoch." Julius Africanus and some minor African church writers attest "Enoch" as known, and its statements accepted as historical. Cyprian, a greater name, quotes the statement about "the apostate angels" having taught women the use of cosmetics and personal adornments, as a fact on which to found reproof of such practices. But of the book and its authority his remains contain no mention or estimate. Lactantius refers to "Enoch" as *literæ sacræ*—following in this respect Tertullian. There is no other important African authority until we come to Augustine. In two important passages, *De Civ. Dei* 15:23 and 18:28, he decides that the canonicity of "Enoch" is *nil*, that its statements are a mixture of some truth with much fiction, and its authority unverifiable, although popular credulity accepted it with promiscuous readiness. Hence, he says, it carries no weight "either among the Jews or ourselves."

The western church hardly knew the book of Enoch, or knew it only to condemn. Jerome is unhesitating in his censure of it as "apocryphal," and appears to carry all western opinion with him. To the learned like himself its character was *manifestissimus*; to unlearned credulity and vulgar acceptance it was unknown. Faint shadows of some of its legends flit across the remains of Hippolytus, of Portus, and of

Hilary. Priscillian of Spain was accused of arguing from uncanonical books, and sheltered himself under Jude's authority, who quotes Enoch as "prophesying." But this does not prove that Priscillian had ever seen a "book of Enoch," or heard of it as current when he wrote. It has been questioned, indeed, whether it ever existed in Latin, and this in spite of a Latin fragment found by Dr. James in the British Museum (among a number of collected treatises or extracts forming a single volume), which bears a plausible resemblance to Enoch 106: 1-18, omitting, however, some passages which have probably been interpolated later into the text. Whatever opinion be held—and opinions differ—concerning this anonymous Latin fragment, the broad fact of a popular Latin version having been current in Africa of some portion of the book, which, as above stated, was canonized in Abyssinia, can hardly be doubted. The language of Augustine, as referred to above, concerning its acceptance with the vulgar, seems to imply this; and the enthusiasm evinced by Tertullian for its reception would certainly suggest that, either from his hand or under his influence, it found its way into the vernacular of the African church. Of course, in regard to any such book as that or those of Enoch, two questions should be distinguished: (1) Is it truly ascribed to him whose name it bears? and (2), Is it of divine, *i. e.*, inspired, authority? That a particular writer knew of the book as existing, that he had either read it or knew some of its statements at second-hand, even that he deemed it for certain purposes valuable or useful—any of these may be established, even although either or both of the foregoing questions would by such writer be answered negatively. And, when this distinction is observed, there are many Christian writers in the East, in Egypt, and the Roman Africa who may be said to have more or less known and valued it, but of very few of whom either of the views embodied in those two questions could be affirmed. I doubt much whether they could be affirmed of any first-class writer except Tertullian. Even writers who, like the author of the epistle of Barnabas, speak of it as Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*) may not improbably use that term in the deuterocanonical sense. And similarly Origen,

whose gradual development of opinion is noticed above, uses, shortly after his recorded judgment that the churches do not esteem "Enoch" as divine, an expression which, taken alone, might seem to ascribe a "prophetic" character to it. He says: "Those who take a right view of the prophetic intent" (*προφητικοῦ βουλήματος*) will see that the book requires an allegorical interpretation. But, as Origen would probably apply the same rule to all books purporting to be "prophetic," we need not suppose that he took it really to be the work of a "prophet," in the inspired sense, which would be inconsistent with what he had said shortly before.